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June 29, 1953

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. John Baker
Central Intelligence Agency

SUBJECT: Variations in the Present Doctrinal Draft from D-33/2 Draft

1. In accordance with your request, I am forwarding to you an original and courtesy copy of the significant differences between the present draft and the previously circulated draft. Fundamentally I believe that the Doctrinal Program is basically the same under both drafts and that no operational difference exists between them.

2. Changes in the Doctrinal Program:

a. Summary Statement of the Problem was deleted.

b. Psychological Objectives (paragraph 1). The terms short, medium and long-range have been taken out. The long-range objective mentioned in the original draft has been eliminated because it was presumed to exist in the other two objectives. What was medium-range activities (1(b)) in the original draft) has now been moved to (a) and the former short-range activities have been moved to (b) in this new draft.

c. 2. Basic Principles.(3 in the original)An initial paragraph to guarantee that this program would not attempt to develop or force one American doctrine was desired by the Department of State. The original paragraph (a) becomes paragraph (b) but with all references to any proposals eliminated. Original paragraph (b) is the same as (c). The original paragraph (c) has been eliminated because it raises the question of money.

d. 3. Summary Basic Tasks (4 in the original). Paragraph (a) has been reworded without changing the substance. Paragraph (c), the tasks of the Department of State, has been completely rewritten but without major change of substance. In fact, State added one new paragraph, (3(c)(1)(a)(4) which is a major contribution. Paragraphs (d), (e) and (f) remain as in the original draft.

e. 4. General Guidance (5 in the original). Paragraph (b) has been eliminated lest the impression be given that there is some reference to this whole program. The original paragraphs (c) and (d) therefore become (b) and (c). In the third or last sentence of (c),

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DATE: MAY 2001

the introductory clause, "Usefulness in furthering the aims of this program" replaces the clause in the original draft, "Acceptability to Western philosophy of life".

f. 5. Administrative Provisions. (6 in the original draft) A second paragraph has been added to (a) dealing with coordination of the program. The two proposals which had accompanied the original draft of this program: Proposal I, to establish a doctrinal institute to produce the desired analysis of doctrinal materials, and Proposal II, to establish a distribution mechanism for greater commercial sale of American books abroad, were causing unsurmountable difficulties. This new paragraph provides that these general ideas will be further examined and studied in the initial coordination of this program. All references to the original proposals and to the former idea of a doctrinal institute have been eliminated from the Program and the annexes. The problem of requiring consistent and continuous production of doctrinal material is mentioned in the annex, but without tie-in with any proposed solution. This second paragraph under Coordination in the Administrative Provisions commits nobody to anything except further study and consideration as to how doctrinal production can most effectively be pushed. The evaluation of the Doctrinal Program remains as it was written in the original annex.

3. The annexes in the original draft were: Annex "A" and Annex "B", and Proposals I and II. The proposals have been eliminated, Annex "B", which is CIA's particular problem, has in accordance with Mr. Dulles' memorandum of approval added the word "abroad." The original Annex "A" has been divided into two annexes: "A", containing abbreviated definitions (which are expected to be approved as an integral part of the Program), and Annex "C", which is an expurgated "Analysis of the Problem."

a. The new Annex "C" is a rewrite of the original Annex "A" minus the definitions. This new annex supposedly eliminates paragraphs in the original Annex "A" which are said to be theoretical or philosophic, particularly in the original paragraph 2 of the original Annex "A", dealing with the necessity for a U. S. Doctrinal Program. The present paragraphs dealing with the necessity for a U. S. Doctrinal Program do not raise the theoretical issue of the relationship of ideas to action.

b. The Summary of National Policy is practically the same in both annexes.

c. Communist Use of Doctrinal Warfare. In the new Annex "C" the previous position of international intellectuals towards Communism through Marxian teachings has been eliminated.

d. Paragraph (g) in the original draft, dealing with the differences between American and Soviet books, has also been eliminated from this section, and paragraph (h) on "study groups" has been greatly shortened.

e. Existing U. S. Doctrinal Program. This section is basically the same as in the original draft with the exception that criticisms of State's current information program have been moderated.

f. Feasibility of Increased Doctrinal Program. The previous emphasis on the superiority of the American position in the doctrinal field has been modified through a rewording which tends to emphasize that we can counter the Soviet doctrine, and we should do more in pushing the understanding of the American views.

g. Development of Basic Principles. Reference to the proposals, particularly to Proposal I (the doctrinal institute) in (b) of this section has been modified. The original proposal stated "there is need for a machinery." The present draft states "there is need for the production..." of doctrinal materials. Reference to Proposal II has also been eliminated.

h. Possible Enemy Reactions. This section has been completely eliminated in the new draft.

4. These are all of the major differences between the present draft and the original draft. Fundamentally, I believe that there are only two substantial differences which are both included in the present draft of the Program. The first is the new paragraph added by State to Basic Principles (2)(a) in the present draft) that the Program is not an attempt to develop any single American doctrine. The second substantial change is the elimination of Proposals I and II, the mechanisms for accomplishing the doctrinal proposal and their indirect inclusion in the new paragraph under Coordination, (5(a)(2)) which insures that these ideas will be further studied and explored in the coordination of this Program. State's additional paragraph was implicitly part of the panel's approach to the problem, and is new only in the sense that it explicitly includes what has been implicitly accepted. The elimination of the proposals may possibly weaken the immediate implementation of the Doctrinal Program, but in view of State's worry and your agency's concern with institutes, etc., it is probably a more sensible procedure to provide for further study of these problems rather than trying to obtain their approval at this time.

5. I have considered practically all of these changes as mere rewordings to satisfy semantic idiosyncrasies . The new draft is fundamentally the same as the original draft, and I would hope that you will find no trouble in securing your agency's approval of this rewrite.

EDWARD P. LILLY

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Original to
To John Baker

Duff file

29 June 1953

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Amendments Proposed by State Department
for
U. S. Doctrinal Program, PSB D-33/2

1. No changes whatever are made in the two most important aspects of the Program: Proposal I for an International Doctrinal Institute, and Proposal II for increased commercial distribution of American books and a book distribution guarantee.

They have been eliminated

2. Introductory section and Annex "A" have been extensively rewritten, and Annex "A" has been split in two parts, now labelled Annex "A" (Definitions) and Annex "C" (Analysis of the Problem). Result is a shorter text and fewer mandatory requirements on State; otherwise mostly a matter of phraseology.

3. Paragraph 3(c) in the original text is omitted from the amended draft: "Any U. S. doctrinal program sufficient to forward substantially the goals set forth in this paper requires budgetary allocation of new funds, not merely a shift in current emphases."

4. One amendment is the following (paragraph (b) under 4. Summarized Basic Tasks):

Original Text	Amended Text
The following planning tasks .... indicate to the participating departments and agencies what <u>will</u> be included in their implementing doctrinal plans.	The following planning tasks .... indicate to the participating departments and agencies what <u>could</u> be included in their implementing doctrinal plans.

However, there was already an escape clause in the original draft, preceding the list of specific tasks: "All facilities will be employed, <u>as feasible</u>, to support and further this doctrinal program."

5. No changes are suggested in tasks assigned to Defense (4e) or Other Departments and Agencies (4f).

6. The rewrite of Annex "A" (new Annex "A" plus "C") does not affect the substance of the PSB proposals.

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COPY NO. 45

Jun 29, 1953

PSYCHOLOGICAL STRATEGY BOARD
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PSYCHOLOGICAL STRATEGY BOARD:

SUBJECT: The U. S. Doctrinal Program, PSB D-33, June 29, 1953

The attached revised draft of the U. S. Doctrinal Program is circulated for vote slip action at your earliest convenience. This revised draft was prepared to incorporate the rewording desired by the Department of State in the original panel draft, circulated on May 5, 1953, as PSB D-33/2. This revised draft has received the informal concurrences of the departmental representatives.

Annex "B" will receive special handling and limited distribution in accordance with the wishes of the member agency principally concerned.

It is requested that the copies of the prior draft of the U. S. Doctrinal Program, PSB D-33/2, May 5, 1953, be returned to me for destruction.

George A. Morgan
Acting Director

Enclosure:
PSB D-33, "U.S. Doctrinal Program," June 29, 1953,
Copy No, 45

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COPY NO. 45

PSB D-33
June 29, 1953

PSYCHOLOGICAL STRATEGY BOARD
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

U.S. DOCTRINAL PROGRAM

(FOR BOARD APPROVAL)

U. S. DOCTRINAL PROGRAM

1. Psychological Objectives for a U. S. Doctrinal Program

(a) The U.S. Doctrinal Program (as defined in Annex "A") will seek, by providing permanent literature and by fostering long-term intellectual movements, which will appeal to intellectuals, including scholars and opinion-forming groups, to:

(1) break down world-wide doctrinaire thought patterns which have provided an intellectual basis for Communism and other doctrines hostile to American and Free World objectives.

(2) foster a world-wide understanding and sympathetic acceptance of the traditions and viewpoints of America and the Free World.

(b) The U.S. Doctrinal Program (as defined in Annex "A") will seek to achieve the following results:

(1) increase among target groups a realistic understanding of the Communist threat.

(2) further general understanding and encourage acceptance for the traditions and viewpoints of the U. S. and the Free World.

(3) pave the way for deviations from, and schisms in, totalitarian thought patterns by stimulating intellectual curiosity and free thought on political, scientific and economic subjects.

(4) create confusion, doubts and loss of confidence in the accepted thought patterns of convinced Communists, captive careerists, including the managerial and military groups, and others under Communist influence susceptible to doctrinal appeals.

(5) weaken objectively the intellectual appeal of other doctrines which may be hostile or inimical to American objectives, e.g., extreme nationalism in some areas, dangerous neutralism in others, or rampant racialism, and to foster among such adherents a basic understanding of the traditions of America and the Free World.

2. Basic Principles

(a) A fundamental characteristic of America and the Free World is the diversity of its doctrines and philosophies. The U. S. Doctrinal Program does not envisage an attempt to channel these diversities into one particular doctrine, but the Program is an effort to develop a means to make better known to the specific target groups the traditions and viewpoints of America and the Free World.

(b) To be effective, this U.S. Doctrinal Program requires the interdepartmental development of:

(1) long-range plans for the production and distribution of intellectual materials and for the direction of activities aimed separately and concurrently at appealing to intellectuals, including scholars and opinion-forming groups.

(2) provocative and stimulating doctrinal materials which critically and effectively analyze Communist doctrines, as well as those objectively setting forth the viewpoints of America and the Free World.

(3) improve distribution mechanisms for permanent literature, not only American, but also foreign materials.

(c) Government control over the production of most overt material will be kept to the minimum. Control over the production of other materials must be flexible and not restrictive.

3. Summarized Basic Tasks

(a) This U. S. Doctrinal Program, which does not seek to influence the American people, requires a practical effort to develop and circulate materials which, in their entirety or with minor modifications, can be widely distributed with the expectation that they will have a favorable effect on individuals interested in doctrinal matters.

(b) The following planning tasks are not listed in order of priority. They indicate to the participating departments and agencies what could be included in their implementing doctrinal plans. These tasks are only the minimum activities to be undertaken in their implementing plans:

(c) Department of State (and/or the agency inheriting the information program)

(1) All facilities will be employed, as feasible, to support and further this doctrinal program, e.g.,

(a) In activities already in operation, consideration should be given to increasing the doctrinal aspects of information work:

(1) increased doctrinal materials in VOA broadcasts, particularly for publicizing and promoting interest in doctrinal matters.

(2) increased documentation and basic interpretations in periodicals, especially native language journals on doctrinal subjects.

(3) continued efforts should be made to improve the functioning of Franklin Publications, Inc., and to increase the inclusion of doctrinal materials in its output.

(4) increased attention to doctrinal subjects in academic conventions, student conferences, study

groups, cultural workshops, etc., sponsored by the information program abroad.

(5) in selecting individuals in the Exchange of Persons Program, special attention should be given to those who could be expected to have influence in the doctrinal field (writers, teachers, labor leaders, etc.).

(b) The following additional steps should be undertaken:

(1) escapees from the Iron Curtain should be encouraged to provide materials suitable for doctrinal purposes

(2) review of present media guarantee programs and consideration of an improved book distribution plan.

(3) missions abroad should be informed of the doctrinal program and instructed to assist its implementation:

(a) through making qualified personnel available, when possible and appropriate, for public discussions of doctrinal subjects and for liaison on doctrinal matters with local institutions; and

(b) through regular reports and analyses of doctrinal developments in foreign countries.

(4) cultural and commercial attaches should seek means of fostering increased markets abroad for American publications of a doctrinal nature.

(d) Central Intelligence Agency

The Agency will give high and continuing priority to all activities supporting the objectives of this program. (CIA's basic

tasks are presented in a separate Annex "B" of limited distribution.)

(a) Department of Defense

(1) All facilities will be employed, as feasible, to support and further this doctrinal program, e.g.,

(a) Doctrinal background will be given in all service schools for officers and enlisted personnel. Organizations and units will be provided doctrinal materials through I&E activity.

(b) Troop recreational libraries, armed forces editions and soldiers' publications, from the comic to the tome, will include doctrinal matters.

(c) Each service will incorporate doctrinal aspects into its strategic and tactical planning in the psychological warfare field. Corollary military activities, e.g., escape and evasion, and protective indoctrination in case of capture, will employ doctrinal materials.

(d) American POW camps, in recreational, informational and educational work, will incorporate doctrinal materials.

(e) Planning for occupied areas will recognize and take steps to incorporate doctrinal aspects into its planning and training.

(f) Armed forces network will include doctrinal developments to stimulate its major, and its "spill-over," audiences to read doctrinal books.

(g) Doctrinal materials will be made available to military chaplains for such use as they consider appropriate.

(h) Orientation materials for American troops in foreign overseas stations will contain doctrinal materials

(i) Speeches and addresses by service and departmental officials will exploit doctrinal aspects.

(j) Technical military magazines will be encouraged to carry material of a doctrinal character.

(k) The Research and Development Board, or its possible successor, will study the development of operational equipment specifically required for doctrinal operations.

(f) Other Departments and Agencies

(1) Policy and information planners in the other federal agencies will be advised of the U. S. Doctrinal Program and its relationship to their primarily domestic activity, i.e., policy recommendations and regularly published brochures and reports.

4. General Guidance

(a) New and stimulating ideas, even contradictory ideas, have self-generative powers and are desired.

(b) Doctrinal production is not limited to political and philosophical analyses. All fields of intellectual and cultural interests, from anthropology and artistic creations to sociology and scientific methodology, come within the gamut of the doctrinal program.

(c) The American Doctrinal Program is not limited to American materials. Foreign production and activity, consistent with our doctrinal objectives, will be fostered, promoted and distributed. Usefulness in furthering the aims of this Program and not strict American ideas, will be the criteria of selecting non-American materials.

5. Administrative Provisions

(a) Coordination of the U. S. Doctrinal Program

(1) So that the U. S. Doctrinal Program may be initiated

immediately, pending the establishment of the permanent organization for the American psychological effort, the Director of PSB will be responsible for the initial coordination of the member agencies' implementation of this Doctrinal Program. When the pending reorganization of informational and psychological activities has been directed, he will prepare a detailed recommendation to the PSB, or its responsible successor, for the permanent coordination and implementation of this Doctrinal Program.

(2) In the initial coordination of this Doctrinal Program, the Acting Director will examine and explore with responsible officials in the member agencies the feasibility of various special undertakings which would contribute to the more rapid and adequate implementation of this Doctrinal Program. One undertaking would be a consistent, continuing and cooperative production of scholarly and objective anti-Communist doctrinal materials. A second would be the mechanisms necessary to adequately distribute those materials to the Program's target. A third undertaking would be the listing of Communist vulnerabilities and suggested doctrinal themes. The results of these explorations which would be of an inter-departmental character and would not be included in any member agency's implementation plans would be developed for Board decision by the Acting Director.

(b) Evaluation of the U. S. Doctrinal Program

The Office of Evaluation and Review, during the first year of the doctrinal effort, will undertake the analysis of methodology required to make an adequate evaluation and review of the U. S. Doctrinal Program. An over-all evaluation and review will be made on a yearly basis, with the expectation that if the Office of Evaluation and Review notices significant

trends, whether favorable or unfavorable, it will immediately develop a special evaluation and review to so inform the Board.

Definitions (Annex "A")

In order to understand the Doctrinal Program and to indicate the limits within which it will operate, it is considered proper to give herein, without attempting to justify the general accuracy or completeness, certain basic definitions:

(a) Doctrinal Program (in general, and not just U. S. Doctrinal Program): A planned and systematic attack against a hostile doctrinal system conducted concurrently with a positive advocacy of the basic philosophy of one's own system. In the main, the Doctrinal Program is directed at a specifically defined group, rather than at the mass.

(b) Doctrinal System (in general, and not possessed by the U.S.): An inter-related body of ideas, whether consciously organized or not, which reflects the manner or content of thinking characteristic of individuals or classes, justifies a particular type of social belief and structure, and provides a body of principles for human aspirations.

(c) Target for the U. S. Doctrinal Program: The membership of the target group will vary from country to country and from region to region. In general, the U. S. Doctrinal Program will be aimed at effectively reaching those persons who would be interested in doctrinal matters and who would be active in, and have an influence upon, political and intellectual, including scholarly, activities in their respective countries and regions. This target may occur in all professions and social groups, e.g., teachers, laborers, farm or business leaders, military men, etc. The characteristic of the target is that it is interested in, or can be influenced by, doctrinal materials.

Analysis of the Problem (Annex "C")

1. Necessity for a U. S. Doctrinal Program

(a) In the development of world Communism, ideology has played an important part. In addition to the power of the Soviet base itself, the Soviet Armed Forces, the organization of the Communist power, and the economic potential of the Soviet Union which constitute components of the Communist threat to America and the Free World, Communist ideology has been a vital and dangerous force. It has been used assiduously by the Communists to advance their interests. Some opportunities to rebut this ideology have been used, but many have been neglected.

(b) Although the West has strengthened its military and economic resources in meeting the Soviet challenge, insufficient attention has been accorded to the need for combating Communism on the intellectual plane, in the sphere of ideas. As described below (Section 3) the Communists have for the past thrity-five years been engaged in a massive, comprehensive, world-wide campaign of ideological indoctrination, designed to further international Communism. This campaign has been conducted on many levels, with appeals designed for all groups. Of these, the intellectuals of each country of the world have been a particularly important target because of the influence which such individuals exert, even if indirectly, on political affairs.

(c) The panel believes that it is possible for America and the West to do much more than has been accomplished in the past toward countering Communist efforts to appeal to intellectuals. Ways can be found of increasing the production, as well as the circulation abroad, of permanent literature and other doctrinal materials which would be effective through their influence on intellectuals and opinion-forming groups, in damaging Communism and in furthering understanding and sympathy for the traditions and viewpoints of America and the Free World. One of the most important means for accomplishing this purpose is books.

(d) In most parts of the world, the radio and television are still novelties; magazines have low circulation; and newspapers circulate mostly among political groups whose opinions are already formed. In the majority of countries in the free world, books--permanent literature--are by far the most powerful means of influencing the attitudes of intellectuals. The Information Libraries and other activities sponsored by the State Department have done something in this field, but in general we have not done enough to promote the publication and circulation of books favorable to the free world and damaging to the Communist Party line. The technique of the Communists has not been to promote free distribution of books, which carries the inference of propaganda but to subsidize the circulation of their books through regular commercial trade of every country in which they can obtain a foothold.

(e) In this they have been highly successful. In recent years, the largest selling book in the world--with the possible exception of the Bible--has been the Short History of the Communist Party which is the testament of the Communists. Its circulation exceeds 41,000,000 copies. This book is on sale in the U.S. book stores for $1.00 on fine paper, beautifully printed. The latest attempt to reply to this basic testament is Dr. Stefan T. Possony's A Century of Conflict in which an effort is made to record the true story of the Party history. This book sells for $7.50. There is no organized promotion of its sale at home or abroad; and, like other books of similar significance, it will undoubtedly sell no more than 6,000 copies in the United States and throughout the world.

2. Summary of National Policy Applicable to a National Doctrinal Program

(a) NSC objectives, while not explicitly mentioning a doctrinal program, provide ample justification for the use of doctrinal activity as a means of accomplishing basic American objectives vis-a-vis USSR and its Satellites.

Three NSC papers, NSC 20/4, 68/2 and 135/3, provide the major basis for national policy, while supplementary objectives towards Satellite countries are indicated in NSC 58/2 and 48/5. Current national policy provides for the reduction of Soviet power, including that of its Satellites, to a status which will not be a threat to the security of the U.S. or the Free World. All methods "short of war" are implicitly included as means of accomplishing this major objective. The most recent statement of American objectives regarding Communism provides the U.S. should develop, on a world-wide basis, positive appeals which would be superior to Communism. The U.S. should do everything possible to exploit the difficulties which arise between the Soviet leaders and other Communist states and those people whom they are oppressing. While those NSC papers do not explicitly mention a doctrinal program, it is clear that such a program is one means of assisting in the accomplishment of such objectives, since it can contribute to the reduction of Communist appeals and influence on intellectual groups, both within and without the Communist orbit, and thereby contribute to the reduction of Soviet power.

3. Communist Use of Doctrinal Warfare

(a) The Soviet regime, while limited to Russia for its political existence, had always been regarded by its leaders as the base for an international movement. From the beginnings of the Soviet state, the maintenance of closely connected international cadres of local national Communists was visualized. As a means of controlling the ideological outlook of these widely scattered, and, at times, antagonized local organizations, the written interpretations of Marx, Lenin and Stalin were of great effectiveness. These re-interpretations provided the philosophic or doctrinal basis for properly orientating and training local national Communists. They were the equivalent of uniform textbooks for training and indoctrinating neophytes. They also provided source materials or documentation for inducing

unsuspecting non-Communist Marxists to look with favor upon the Soviet interpretation and become pro-Soviet in viewpoint, if not in action.

(b) From the early 1920's the Soviet leaders have maintained two complementary lines in the distribution of their printed material. The Foreign Languages Publishing House or the International Book Publishers (Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga) was established in Moscow to produce Communist texts in the major languages of those areas where the Communists hoped to be influential. In the past thirty-five years, the Soviets claim to have published 978,377,000 works of Marx, Lenin and Stalin. At the same time, national Communist Parties under Soviet influence established their own publishing companies to produce locally the same basic materials which would provide the local ideological foundation for Soviet Communism. Production is only one part of doctrinal warfare. The proper distribution to the potential adherents is an equally important aspect. The local Communist Party is mainly responsible for the distribution of Communist materials, either directly to peoples known to be interested in Communism or to intellectual centers, where it will be available to professors and scholars who have been trained to study all aspects of an intellectual subject. Hence it was that the Communists quite early in their ideological effort aimed at the intelligentsia as the group most likely to be interested in and influenced by a doctrinal or philosophical basis for Communism. Hence they concentrated on libraries, universities and research groups as locations where their published material might be most extensively used and thereby be most influential in predisposing intellectuals towards accepting Communist ideology.

(c) The material for estimating the current doctrinal warfare effort of the Soviets is most difficult to isolate. The OIR series, Analysis of Communist Propaganda is excellent in its coverage of the Soviet publication efforts, but only six countries have been covered. Evidence of the importance of doctrinal warfare to the Kremlin is Stalin's statement in his article, "Economic Problems" in Bolshevik (October 1952):

> I think that the comrades are not taking into account the full significance of a Marxist textbook on political economy. The textbook is needed not only for our Soviet youth; it is particularly needed for the Communists of all countries and for people who sympathize with the Communists . . .
>
> They want to know all this and many other things not simply out of curiosity but in order to learn from us and to use our experience for their own countries. That is why the appearance of a good Marxist textbook on political economy is not only of internal political significance but also of major international significance.

(d) A recent OIR article gives significant figures on Soviet book production in the past thirty-five years. Soviet figures do not permit breakdown of their total of a billion books into the copies per foreign language, but it is known that Stalin's Problems of Leninism was published in 55 languages, Stalin's On the Draft Constitution, in 89 languages, and Stalin's Short History in 67 languages, while his report to the 18th Congress of the Party appeared in 72 languages. (IR No. 5630.108, Feb 5 1953). The Soviets have given evidence that they appreciate that in every civilized society, the printed book has been one of the carriers of the major attitudes and ideals on which the civilization rests. Publications of this type are devoted to the task of instilling the conviction that Communism alone possesses the key to the world's problems. By developing Marxian interpretations, by references to a better future world, and by maintaining a consistent emphasis on the unquestionable truth of the Communist position, the Soviet rulers have carefully distributed their books so that they receive intensive attention from students and intellectuals. Communist books possess a documentary character, while available anti-Communist books often seem to be mere diatribes. Communist publications thereby influence intellectuals with their relative monopoly in the publications field on doctrinal subjects.

(e) The Communists do not rely solely on the distribution of books. They also develop the technique of "study groups" to foster the detailed and intensive study and analysis of their books. Communist training pro-

grams provide that members, particularly the intellectuals, must participate in regular "study group" discussions. These "study groups" are not mass gatherings. They are composed of a few carefully selected individuals who are guided along the road of the Lenin-Stalinist line by a trained group leader. Using the Communist texts which each member must read, analyze and comment upon, the group leader guides the members to the right answers to all possible non-Communist objections to their system. The "study group" system is most important for training the intellectuals to become proficient in handling Communist doctrine, theory and dogma.

(f) The "study group" indoctrination is tied in very closely with Communist book stores in the Free World to insure the proper distribution of Communist books. There are lists by countries of the known Communist book stores and centers which act as local distributors for Communist literature, but our intelligence does not provide any real analysis of their sales procedures and of the arrangements between the Moscow publishers, the various national wholesalers and the local Communist book stores. A recent report from Israel (Tel Aviv Despatch #450, Feb. 18, 1953) indicated that the International Publishing House in Moscow determines what books and in what quantities wholesalers must take Communist publications. When wholesalers or retailers request certain titles which they know they can profitably sell, they are only given those titles on condition that they also take and distribute less salable Communist literature. Similarly, the price variations and the particularly profitably discounts to dealers give an indication of those books which the Soviets really wished to be distributed in Israel. Full-sized books, particularly the writings of Stalin and Lenin, are priced at ridiculously low figures while scientific books or books with a current demand are priced extremely high. It hardly seems that such maneuvers are strictly accidental, particularly when funding or exchange arrangements are provided by the local Soviet diplomatic office in proportion to the successful

sale of those Communist publications which they wish distributed in a particular area.

4. Existing U. S. Doctrinal Program

(a) Even though one of the primary themes in American informational and psychological operations has been to make America better known and better understood before the world, doctrinal activity has been a small part of this general effort. Starting with Office of War Information's book program in 1943, there has been a continual effort to provide American books about American life in overseas libraries and likewise to foster their commercial sale and distribution. Most of these books, however, merely explain how we arrived at the conditions under which we live, or how we do things. There were and are histories of the U.S., of our political, economic and even labor developments. There are explanations of the American system and even theory of government, but apart from the strictly literary books, novels, etc., the majority of serious books are of a "know-how" type. While books portraying the underlying philosophies of American life and American government and American economics have been included in our book distribution programs, it should be a fair estimate to indicate that, on an average, only a few of a hundred titles distributed by ICS are properly of a doctrinal character.

(b) Although the "know-how" book may be more representative of the American outlook than are works of a doctrinal or theoretical character, books of the latter type do exist and are now being produced in this country. The panel believes that, through appropriate Governmental assistance, much more could be accomplished in expanding the overseas distribution of such books and in encouraging the preparation of more works of this kind.

(c) In this area, a major overt doctrinal effort can be fostered by Governnent interest and assistance. This does not require the establishment of any totally new program, but indicates a need for re-emphasis on doctrinal items in the selection of books and in their promotion abroad.

There already exists a sufficient number of the writings of leading Americans in one-volume editions, as well as one-volume editions of the basic documents of American history. Greater attention might be given to the production and to their overseas distribution of theoretical studies of a fundamentally scholarly character which explain the American attitudes and philosophies, even the apparent inconsistencies in American approaches, to government, economic problems, labor and sociological problems. These studies, rather than manuals on irrigation, soil conservation, machine handling, etc., are the type of books which the intellectuals would find most satisfactory and would secure a more friendly and influential reaction towards the U.S. Moreover, attention should be given, not only to the assembly and production of appropriate materials, but also to the establishment of channels, media and services through which such materials can be made available to the audience for which they are designed.

(d) In addition to the book program, the radio and news operation from its beginnings under Office of War Information until the present has used the doctrinal approach as one method of attracting increased audiences and of influencing basic thought. The emphasis on doctrine may have declined between 1946 and 1951, but certainly at the present time, the Voice of America (VOA) is including doctrinal aspects in its work. VOA has developed a special ideological unit which prepares master scripts showing how current news can be doctrinally interpreted to the embarrassment of Communist doctrine. These master scripts are circulated to all the output desks and VOA directives urge the desks to give more and more attention to doctrinal items. However, basic doctrinal materials can only be a small part of a VOA program. Similarly, radio has the definite disadvantage that, being an ephemeral medium, it can hardly do more than stimulate interest by an unconvinced person in a new idea or give an already convinced anti-Communist a jibe which he may find useful. However, because the spoken word

is very rapidly completed and cannot be completely recalled for extended and analytical study, it makes relatively little impression overseas on intellectual groups. This limitation is characteristic of radio as a medium of information. Nevertheless, it is believed that consideration should be given to having VOA increase its doctrinal emphases. For example, VOA could attempt to develop audience interest in permanent literature which contributes a strong doctrinal argument against Communism. A broadcast of a doctrinal character could quote to the listener those passages of an important Communist tract which are contradictory. It might also refer the listeners, especially in broadcasts to peripheral areas, to a good locally available doctrinal treatment of the particular issue under discussion. More importantly, the radio, by very carefully excerpting of new doctrinal publications, might stimulate its audiences to want to read the new book and might thereby develop demand for books of a doctrinal character. [While the VOA has definite limitations within the doctrinal field, the VOA can and should do more than it is now doing for the Doctrinal Program.]

(e) A similar generalization should be made for IIA's International Press Service (IPS). Following the example of HICOG's Der Monat and Ostproblume, IPS has developed an English language periodical entitled, Problems of Communism, which is definitely an important facet of a U. S. Doctrinal Program. Prepared in Washington, and aimed at the same general target audience as is proposed in this Doctrinal Program, Problems of Communism attempts to cover all aspects of Communist doctrine. It is emphasizing articles by named intellectual leaders, and it is now increasing the number of non- American contributors to have greater audience appeal. Recent issues have been delayed by the department's directives regarding security clearances on all contributors and by the limitation on the quotations from Communist sources. The periodical is increasing its circulation to what is believed to be the practical capacity for an English language journal. Problems of Communism clearly has made an impact on its target.

(f) It can be visualized that in the coordination of this U. S. Doctrinal Program, greater use of Problems of Communism and similar publications can be made. Foreign language editions should be seriously considered, so that doctrinal material would be available to the larger audience not now controlling the English language. Problems of Communism and similar doctrinal periodicals should definitely be published on scheduled dates so that the audience may expect issues at a particular time and habituate their anticipation of its reception. IBS so planned Problems of Communism, but administrative and clearance difficulty has caused inordinate delays. There was also the question as to whether Problems of Communism might best be published as a government publication, when its distribution is directly controlled by the overseas missions or whether it should be published as a private or academic effort with some distribution through diplomatic missions, but mainly by direct mailing from the publisher, or academic center. There is also need for a more uniform, consistent effort by all overseas missions so that the greatest distribution in all areas is accomplished. It is hard to conceive how 200 copies can be distributed in Finland, and only 100 in London; or how 500 can be distributed in India, and relatively few in France and in other important pro-Western areas.

5. Feasibility of Increased Doctrinal Program

(a) The Communists, through permanent literature and documentary materials, have predisposed some educated groups to accept portions of Communist philosophy as the logical explanation for world conditions. That Communist effort has provided an intellectual justification for the Communist propaganda approach to the masses on day-to-day problems. Communism, however, is an illogical, unrealistic system which avoids facts about itself, and is vulnerable to attacks on the doctrinal level. Furthermore, Communist society and institutions are also vulnerable to attack, not only per se, but on the basis of ideology. American doctrinal materials, based

on logic, science and objectivity, should be acceptable to the intellectual groups.

(b) The Soviet leaders have had success in the doctrinal field because they have continually supplied the basic materials, books and thought-provoking periodicals, whereby influential thought patterns were moulded towards Communist goals. On the other hand, America has not concentrated on insuring that the merits of our basic views and our criticisms of Communism as an ideology are permanently available in those places where they would do the most good. This doctrinal program is not an effort to convince the world of the exclusive validity of the American system; it is a program to make the world's intellectuals and opinion-forming groups aware of the dangers of the Communist philosophy, while at the same time furthering understanding of the traditions and viewpoints of America and the Free World. The Doctrinal Program is the concentrated effort to balance the availability of Communist literature with objective studies which would be appealing to intellectually developed persons.

(c) Educated people are usually intellectually curious. They wish to know more if they can have available materials whose objective value they respect. The U. S. Doctrinal Program should develop such material and through improved distribution methods and techniques insure that the target audience learns that this material is readily and economically available. The natural curiosity of intellectuals will be stimulated to read more and more as doctrinal discussions become increasingly significant, on both the local and international level. Like other humans, the educated man wants to keep up with his confreres; he hopes to be in on the "know"; and he desires to discuss new developments intelligently. It is this natural desire which will increase the market for doctrinal materials and which will keep the market open for a continued program which becomes self-generating of new and more stimulating ideas.

(d) One of the principal limitations on the American effort in the doctrinal field has been the lack of determination to engage in a planned undertaking. Our writers concentrate on discussing American problems for an American audience. More importantly, our publishers have concentrated on publishing only for the American market and have not selected items which would have much broader appeal. The Doctrinal Program should emphasize the fact that many of the materials which are prepared and distributed for the American market can have an important impact if they are made available to the international market. Momentarily, a concentrated publicity and promotional effort may have to be initiated in the overseas market to arouse interest in American publications, but in view of the success of existing promotional activities in the American book trade and in view of the great world interest in books, promotional activities are clearly feasible and fruitful.

6. The Development of Basic Principles

(a) The Doctrinal Program is necessarily a long-range intellectual activity which must be continuously and consistently fostered to insure that materials which will appeal to intellectuals, including scholars and opinion-forming groups, are available in all areas. A doctrinal program requires time to accomplish its desired impact on influential groups. The Doctrinal Program cannot be expected to have immediate impact nor can it expect to change doctrinal thought patterns quickly or as a result of a short-term effort. In addition to a continuous effort, the Doctrinal Program requires the development of published materials which will be recognized by their overseas readers as critical and objective studies and analyses.

(b) Some doctrinal material is already available and should be revived and intensively re-distributed. However, enormous gaps exist in such analyses, particularly doctrinal materials which the proposed target group would not classify as mere propaganda fomentations against Communism. Hence, there is a need for the production, on a systematic and scientific basis, at home and

abroad, of new studies, handbooks and documentary reprints which critically and objectively analyze Communism. Materials are also needed presenting the traditions, viewpoints and concepts of America and the Free World. This material should be produced on a level of objectivity which would be acceptable to educated persons throughout the world.

(c) In addition to such critical and objective production, additional provocative material which would appeal to the general public should also be produced. All literate people throughout the world need:

(1) to know what Communism is;

(2) to recognize Communist Party lines in sundry issues;

(3) to have refutation for Party doctrinal slogans.

A primer of Communism written as the overt answer to The Short History of the Communist Party is a necessary part of the Doctrinal Program. It is also conceivable that some studies which might not be completely objective would be useful for a particular target audience or a particular area. Similarly, a collection of cartoons might be prepared as a visual stimulant to doctrinal activities. This material definitely should be included in the doctrinal effort. However, it should be carefully separated from the objective production of doctrinal material in order that the intellectual effectiveness and acceptability of the objective studies and analyses will not be weakened by material of a shorter-range character. This latter material might be developed through government contracts, with individuals and with publishers in such a way that it is not directly connected with the long-range doctrinal production. In the same category, periodical literature, particularly materials which would be capable of being published in foreign language journals, should receive special consideration.

(d) The production of doctrinal materials is only the initial step in a Doctrinal Program. These materials must be distributed on a world-wide basis so that they will reach the particular target aimed at by the

U. S. Doctrinal Program. Not only should the commercial distribution of American books be stimulated and increased by Government efforts, but all Government facilities should be regularly employed to promote, stimulate and foster greater reader curiosity and reader interest in doctrinal production. Provision should also be made for such promotional and stimulating activities to be intensified when a particularly significant doctrinal development occurs.

(e) The production of materials emphasizing the various aspects of the traditions and viewpoints of American and Free World society and life should not be primarily a government responsibility. Such material is constantly being produced for the American market on an entirely free basis. The distributing machinery for the doctrinal program, however, should continually pick up the more appropriate material of this type which would be understandable and acceptable to doctrinal targets and push its distribution throughout the world. Such an undertaking would in itself tend to stimulate writers to produce doctrinal works, but such distribution must avoid materials which unrealistically attempt to sell American ideas or the American way of life as the sole solution to world problems.

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ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

INSTRUCTIONS: Officer designations should be used in the "TO" column. Under each comment a line should be drawn across sheet and each comment numbered to correspond with the number in the "TO" column. Each officer should initial (check mark insufficient) before further routing. This Routing and Record Sheet should be returned to Registry.

FROM: Psychological Strategy Board (via PP/PY/Ln 1309 K)

NO. Copy 45

DATE JUN 30 1953

TO	ROOM NO.	DATE REC'D	DATE FWD'D	OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
1. PP/PY/Ln	1309 K	June 30		DLF	2 to 3 - This revised version lays no new requirements on CIA, and in general the program has been somewhat reduced in scope. Proposals I & ~~II~~ (including a "Doctrinal Institute") are out of the revised plan. This comment does not apply to Annex "B", which I have not seen. HHT
2. PP/PY/MEDIA		30 June		HHT	
3. PP/PY/LN				DLF	
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FORM NO. 51-10
FEB 1950

16—61155-1 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE DIRECTOR OF
PSYCHOLOGICAL STRATEGY BOARD
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

SECURITY INFORMATION
TOP SECRET

PSYCHOLOGICAL STRATEGY BOARD
WASHINGTON

77320
#1

JUN 29 1953

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Honorable
Allen W. Dulles
Director of Central Intelligence

SUBJECT: ANNEX "B" to the U. S. Doctrinal Program,
PSB D-33, June 29, 1953

1. The attached revised draft of Annex "B" in which the clandestine service has concurred is being circulated for inclusion in your vote slip action on the U. S. Doctrinal Program.

2. Your attention is called to the special handling and limited distribution of this Annex "B" in accordance with the wishes of the member agency principally concerned.

3. It is requested that your copy of the prior draft of Annex "B" be returned to me for destruction.

George A. Morgan
Acting Director

Enclosure:
Annex "B", PSB D-33

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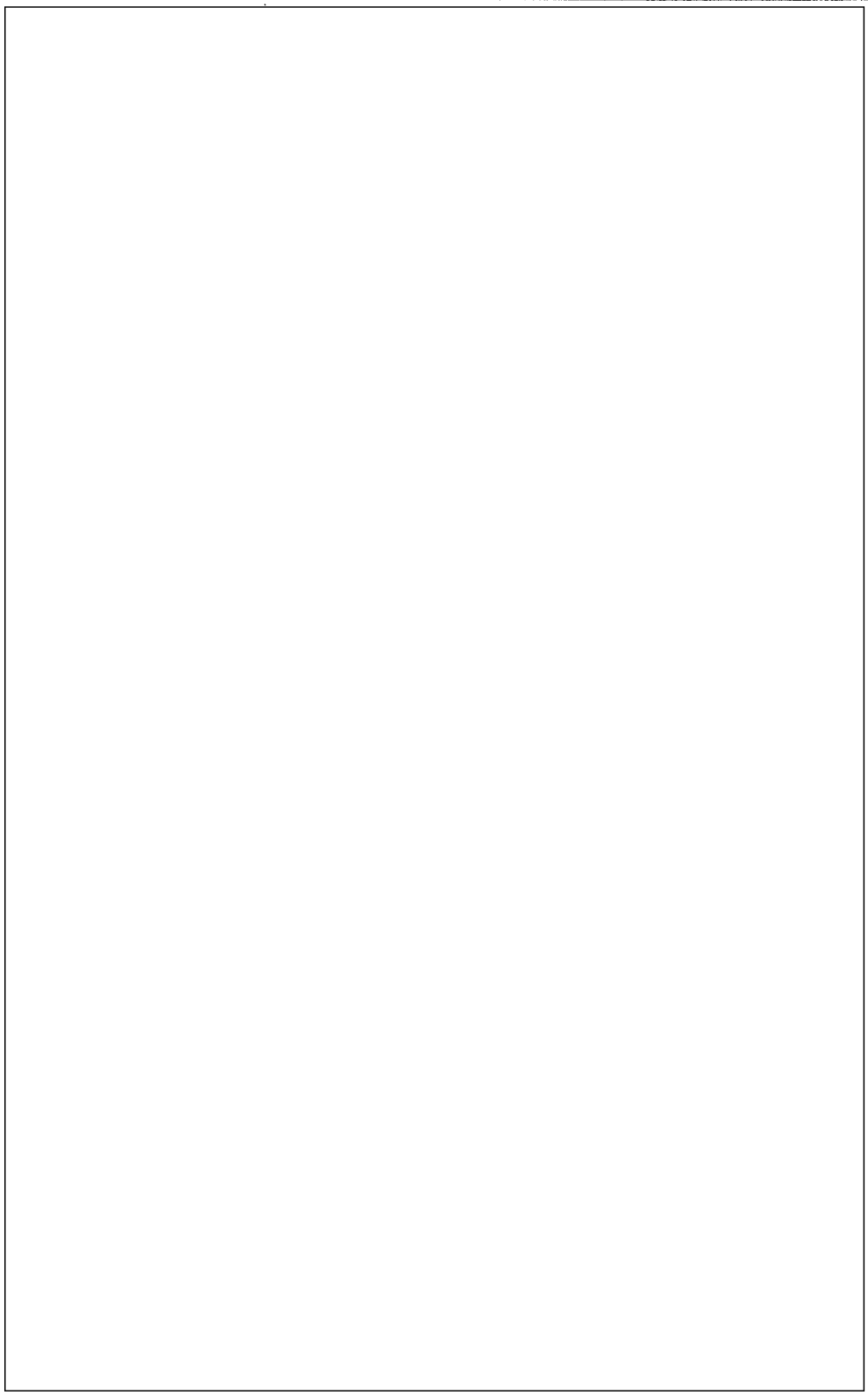

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George A. Morgan
Acting Director

Enclosure:
Annex "B", PSB D-33

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